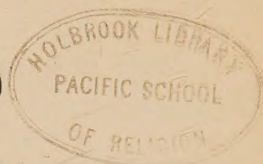


Christianity and Society



India - A Question that Has Not Been Answered

by Leonard M. Schiff

The Signs of the Times

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by R. A. Landor



WINTER 1943

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CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY

A Quarterly devoted to Christianity and Social Reconstruction

PUBLISHED BY THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOCIALIST CHRISTIANS

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CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY

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EDITORIALS

Socialist Christian Credo

Our basic conviction is that the life of this world, man's life in time, is of eternal and ultimate importance. This importance inheres in life itself; life is not important because it is a "preparation" for something else. Eternity may have dealing with man beyond death. It may have dealings with him in this world which are not connected with the actualities of life. But included in eternity's dealings with man is its concern with his life in time. This present life must be eternal life, whether it be eternally blissful or eternally condemned.

The Hebrew-Christian tradition requires such a belief, in the opinion of those who hold it. This tradition knows a unitary man only. It may speak of divisions in man for the purposes of analysis, such as body and soul, but it does not regard these divisions as of different status and worth, nor does it give them different origins and destiny. Man is one. God deals with him as one. Therefore the body and its deeds, the events of our actual life, the institutions of human society, the whole pageant of history are part of God's one concern with unitary man.

Because of God's concern with our actual life, the almightiness of His power is seen in all of life's aspects. On the one hand He is the originator of religion and church. In religion and church the divine background of life is, as it were,

abstracted and contemplated directly, and the Lord who lends His eternal quality to the world is adored for His benefaction. But God works outside the church as well. He clothes man with body and provides for the life of the body. He raises up institutions and levels empires. He is sovereign Lord of History and the course of events reveals His will.

These two works of God are related, that is, the work in Church and religion and the one beyond them. God's work beyond the church is often a criticism and judgment upon what church people failed to see and do. But there is a further reason for His work outside the church. Religious inspiration does not, of itself, give political or artistic or military wisdom. These disciplines have their own logic and acquaintance with that logic alone gives skill in them. Therefore the divine illumination in regard to art, for example, comes from art study and not from the church. On the other hand, religious men are the light of the world and understand what God is doing in all the aspects of man's life. For these reasons religious men, when they have technical skill also, are the completest servants of God. They keep the several disciplines of life from pursuing their solitary way and from falling into secularity.

Armed with the general conviction that God is Lord and architect of history, we look for Him in the special circum-

stances of our own day. Somewhere we must find an analysis of those circumstances and a program of action which impress us as being more adequate than their alternatives. If we find such an analysis and program we will believe them to be of God.

In our estimation the Marxist analysis and program are more adequate to the facts than any alternatives. But it must be remembered that we accept Marxism for religious as well as economic reasons and therefore Marxism remains under the religious criticism permanently.

We agree with Marxism that the economic aspect of life is supremely decisive in this period of history. Our age takes its quality chiefly from the fact of machine production; more of our problems cluster around the industrial process than anywhere else. Marxism generalizes upon this and holds the forms of economic production are decisive in every period. While we cannot accept this extreme position, we feel that the economic process is always powerful in history and in our day supremely powerful.

Following Marxism, we consider that we stand at the end of one period and the beginning of another. The period just completed is **the age of production**. Man devoted his energies to the system of mass production and an unparalleled capacity to produce is the result. During this phase the only question asked of man or procedure is, do they make the fullest use of the possibilities of mass production?

But the very success of the productive enterprise gives rise to problems and the productive age drives on to something else. We feel compelled to acknowledge this dynamic quality which Marxism finds in history. As religious men we are forced to find a divine meaning in it and

to see in this dynamism the power of God exerted upon the course of history.

There are many ways to describe the age toward which the productive period thrusts. We can speak of it in terms of distribution. The success of the productive activity makes it necessary to provide for a distribution which is equally scientific and infinite. We can speak in terms of markets. The present basis of profit requires a continuous expansion to new markets which this planet is progressively less able to provide. We can speak in terms of regularity of employment. The present system of uncontrolled expansion, followed by periods of idleness, requires replacement by a basis of operation which will keep the plant running steadily and at capacity. We can speak of the human element in industry. The profound effects of industrial dislocation upon human beings requires that we shall think less in terms of who built the machine and more in terms of who need its product and the employment it affords. The time has come to emphasize not the individual enterpriser but the good of society. The somewhat general statements of this paragraph represent Marxism as qualified by the events of recent years and also by our Christian standpoint.

The men who built the industrial machine cannot, as a group, usher in the age to follow. Their labor and devotion enable them to see only the virtues of their handiwork. This partiality of the human mind is known to Marxism as "ideology." As Christians we are compelled to admit that finiteness and sin corrupt the mind and its reasons as well as the rest of man. Nor can we except Marxism from the sinful partiality it has discovered everywhere else.

The group to which Marxism looks to bring in the new age is that of the in-

dustrial worker. Their life has been rendered completely dependent upon the machine. The needs of the body and the need to play a useful part in the work of the world alike tie them to the machine. They suffer most from the industrial maladies and have the greatest interest in curing them. Insofar as their special interest gives them a concern in solving the present problems of the machine age, they are better than the men who seek to keep things as they are. But this is not an admission that their moral character is better; an admission which Marxism seems to make. One further qualification is required upon this supreme historic role of what Marxism calls the "proletariat." The events of recent years have shown that the most determined and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit is found among the victims of the cruelty of Fascism and does not come from the direct operations of the economic process.

The coming age presses to be born. If men refuse it, which they may do, the tensions within the machine age will destroy the machine. In religious terms this is a judgment upon rejected opportunity. If men accept it, the result will not be a heaven on earth. It will be simply success in our immediate problem, a success which will generate the problem of the next period. But even a modest success will mark the difference between life and death and will represent the realized will of God here upon the earth.

C. L. S.

Power Politics and Justice

Field Marshall Smuts made a significant address some time ago in which he called attention to some very obvious facts; yet his remarks were regarded as very indiscrete and were assumed by

critics to have endangered the post-war settlement. He observed on the one hand that this war will have destroyed all three of the "great powers" on the continent: Germany, Italy and France. He called attention on the other hand to the fact that the world would be governed by three great quasi- or non-European powers, Russia, Britain and America; and that of the three Britain might easily find herself in a position of weakness, compared with the other two. The situation is exactly as Smuts has described it; though it may be questioned whether he has found an adequate solution for the problems which he analyses.

It is true, first of all, that the continent of Europe has lost all of its natural centers of power. It has fallen to the mercy of non-European powers. This fact need not, but may, prove a detriment to Europe and to the world. It would not be a detriment if it removed the obstacles to a unification of Europe. There is no longer a nation in Europe powerful enough to prevent the unification of Europe on the one hand or to attempt an abortive tyrannical unification of the continent on the other. In that sense the new situation could lay the foundation for the redemption of Europe. Europe must be unified by super-imposed authority and power. This would not be the only time in history that foreign power has achieved a unification which lay beyond the capacity of the political region which required unification. One thinks of the Norman unification of England and the unification of Russia through the Tartars and the unification of China through the Mongols.

But unfortunately there is not a single power which has the strength to unify Europe. The authority of the new world will be exercised by a combination of Russian, British and American power.

The question is whether these three great powers will have either the wisdom to achieve a working accord for the exercise of their common power, or the sense of justice to exercise it in such a way as to make the order which they create something more and better than coerced order. If they fail to arrive at a working accord the world will continue to live in anarchy. If they arrive at a working accord which does not include constitutional features for the reorganization of Europe and Asia and the release of the democratic forces in those continents, it will degenerate into a super-imperialism and heap up for itself wrath against the day of wrath.

When one measures the obstacles to the achievement of either of the desiderata of a stable peace it becomes apparent that the task which our generation faces is too great for any one generation. The problem of the world community is the great issue which mankind will face for the next century. We must not hope for any definitive solution of this problem within a decade or even five decades. Yet it is important whether a tolerable foundation for the solution of the problem will be laid within the next decades or whether this present war will have only a tragic and negative justification, that is whether it will be justified only because it averted a tyrannical solution of the world problem without contributing to a positive solution.

The hazards to a just peace can be variously enumerated. One hazard lies in the fact that the effective power for world organization lies in the hands of three great powers. This represents a gain as well as a hazard, insofar as the accumulation of power in these three centers does mean that a coalescence of preponderant power has been taking place through historical processes. This

fact alone tends to overcome world anarchy to a certain degree. But can the three great powers overcome the force of anarchy between themselves?

If we analyse the resources of the great powers for their monumental task we must arrive at the conclusion that they are not too well prepared for accomplishing it. Russia is a great new giant which seems to have the same adolescent satisfaction in flexing the muscles of its youthful strength that America has. It has an even greater passion for technology than we have and an even greater and more naive confidence in the possibility of solving life's problems through technology. It has, as we, little experience to guide it in the imperial tasks which have been thrust upon it. It has a strong inferiority complex as a consequence of having been excluded from the counsels of the nations and there are also strong remnants of the old communist fear of the capitalist world with which Russia must now be allied. A working alliance must in fact be achieved in the teeth of the communist dogma that there is an irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism.

On the other hand Russia seems to have dissipated many of the more generous impulses of the communist dream of a world community. With the loss of the impulse for world revolution it has also lost the universalist facets of its approach to world politics. Today Russia is primarily a nation among the nations, which will use the remnants of communist ideology on the continent as power-political instruments for the enhancement of Russian prestige and power. Russia may actually desire to dominate the European continent. And the ineptness of Anglo-American politics in dealing with the continent may give her

the chance of doing so. The strong Russian-national will-to-power is supported by a still influential feeling that the Russian cause justifies itself by being something more than the cause of Russia, since Russia is also the fatherland of socialism. In this sense Russia is not very different from our own nation which is always tempted to hide the capitalistic urge for economic dominion behind the idea that it is our mission to bring democracy to the world and to save the system of "free enterprise" from destruction.

Russian and American foreign policy are in addition to the mentioned defects, both unpredictable, in the one case because the government is not subject to any democratic checks and in the other case because divided constitutional authority, between the President and the Senate, makes it difficult to make binding commitments.

In this situation it is quite apparent that Britain must be relied upon to supply a greater degree of wisdom and experience for the world task than can be expected from either of the two other partners, both of whom are, as Smuts observed, either potentially or actually more powerful than Britain. It is possible that Britain will be able to accomplish this. But there are also great weaknesses in its position. Both its conscious and unconscious apprehension of its comparative weakness will tempt Britain to hold rather desperately to any seats of authority and power which it now possesses in its empire rather than to make venturesome experiments in new mutual relations. It may even try to fill the political void upon the continent by drawing some of the smaller continental powers into the British commonwealth of nations, a policy which Field Marshal Smuts advocated. This policy will cer-

tainly not contribute to any permanent solution of either the continental or the world problem; though it may become a necessary defense against the encroachments of American and Russian power, if America and Russia refuse to enter into genuinely mutual arrangements. The possibilities of friction between American economic and military power and British political power in Asia and the Mediterranean world (particularly the problem of Palestine there) are very great. Whatever the over-all arrangements between America, Britain and Russia, it would seem that the problems which face Britain and America alone, would require a much wider and more intimate partnership between these two powers than is now envisaged. The reorganization of the Pacific world, the determination of the problems of naval strategy (Singapore for instance) and the relation of Australia to Britain on the one hand and America on the other, all require a more intimate partnership than is now contemplated. It would be wrong to assume that such a partnership is within the realm of immediate possibilities. But on the other hand it is quite apparent that our affairs are so "mixed up" that it would be easier to scramble them further than to unscramble them.

When all these hazards are enumerated it becomes apparent that the task which confronts the world powers is practically beyond their wit and wisdom. Even if they solve the problems between them the other great issue still remains: How will they bring the smaller powers of the world into a constitutional relation to their preponderant power in such a way that the world will not be held together merely by force? If the alliance of the powers should become merely a scheme of super-imperialism it will soon invite the resentment of the smaller nations.

Furthermore if Europe and Asia remain unorganized the chaos in these continents will soon spread and threaten the very partnership of the great powers.

The one hope that the great powers may achieve some constitutional reorganization of Europe and Asia lies in the fact that they can not solve the issues between them without going beyond their own partnership. It is for instance not possible to overcome the Anglo-American fear that Russia may dominate the continent and the Russian fear that the Anglo-Saxon powers may organize the continent against Russia without giving the continent its own unity under the aegis of the great powers. It is not at all certain that the great powers will have the wit to accomplish this. The communiques after the Teheran conference lead one to fear that nothing very fundamental for the reorganization of Europe was envisaged by the three leaders. Yet it is so obvious that the great powers can not overcome the potential sources of friction between each other, without going beyond their own partnership into more constitutional schemes of world organization, that there is still some hope that this may be done.

Insofar as the great powers are incapable of refashioning Europe we must rely upon the revolutionary forces of the continent to work to that end. It is, in fact a cause for optimism that history never quite moves in the orbits in which the statesmen try to confine it. Unquestionably both Britain and America will do what they can to avert and suppress revolutionary movements in Europe; and Russia may be equally ready to suppress popular revolts. It is true of course that it will be difficult to distinguish between creative revolts and the complete chaos which is a possibility in Europe, and which the occupying powers will natural-

ly try to prevent. The fear of chaos in Europe is as a matter of fact compounded of a conservative fear of a radical solution of the property issue on the continent, and a natural and responsible fear of a complete European breakdown. In such a situation much depends upon the creative capacity of the revolutionary forces in the various continental nations. They have the future of Europe in their hands to a larger degree, even, than the hegemonous powers.

Chaos In Congress

In the history of our country we have probably never had worse congressional confusion than in the past session of congress. The confusion is the consequence of the disintegration of the Democratic party, the southern bloc of which has consistently made common cause with Republican reactionaries in order to defeat the administration program in domestic affairs. This new reactionary alliance has been careful not to touch any significant issues of foreign policy, though it may be expected to do equal damage in that field if it is not destroyed in the next election.

In domestic politics it has brought us near inflation by defeating the administration food subsidy program. Its opposition to food subsidies has been prompted by pressure from the reactionary big farmer groups and the food processors. It has prevented the administration from collecting an additional ten billion in income taxes in order to ease the pressure of "inflationary money" in the pockets of consumers. There is at present a gap of 35 billion dollars, being earned by consumers for which there are no consumer goods. It has frustrated all efforts to eliminate the poll tax restrictions upon the vote in southern states. Its most recent achievement was

the defeat of the administration proposal for federal supervision of soldier's votes. The alternative which it adopted is completely unworkable and will disfranchise most of our men in the services. This most recent defeat of a democratic measure was occasioned by the fear of Republicans that there were more Democrats than Republicans in the army and the conviction of the southern democrats that a federal voting scheme would destroy the franchise restrictions upon which they depend for their power.

All in all this is a sorry record indeed. Party responsibility has been, in effect, destroyed and our domestic program has become the sport of pressure groups as in the parliamentary governments of the continent. There is still a possibility that outraged public sentiment will force congress to adopt anti-inflation measures before we are engulfed; and also that an adequate soldier vote bill will be passed. Yet the defiance of public interest has been so gross and cynical in Washington that one fears for the future.

Our political situation is made the more fantastic by knowledge of the fact that the southern congressmen who have spent the last year and a half, fighting every progressive measure, will probably help to renominate Roosevelt; because that is the only way that their party can stay in power. They are talking secession at the moment; but nothing will come of it. The future looks even darker when it is considered that there is only the slightest prospect for the nomination of a Republican candidate who would conserve what is best in either the foreign or domestic program of the New Deal. The fact is that the recent Republican successes in the primaries have so emboldened Republican reactionaries and isolationists that they have come to the conclusion that they can defeat Roosevelt

with practically anyone. This means that Willkie's cause is practically lost. Such arch foes of the New Deal as David Lawrence are prophesying Roosevelt's reelection on the ground that the Republicans are over-confident and will in their over-confidence nominate someone who is sufficiently tainted with isolationism to assure a Roosevelt victory.

This is indeed the most likely turn which events will take. A Roosevelt victory would at least insure a responsible foreign policy. But another Roosevelt administration will represent a very tired New Deal, supported by a badly rent Democratic party, or at the mercy of the present alliance of reactionary Republicans and Democrats.

As America moves out from its security and isolation into the complexities of world politics the lack of a parliamentary government becomes an ever greater hazard to our democracy. It is the lack of parliamentary responsibility which makes the irresponsible actions of congress possible. The jealousy between the legislative and executive branches of government is a by-product of our constitutional division of authority. Furthermore the power of the executive has increased so much in recent years that some of the legislative jealousy of its power seems justified enough. Our president has become an absolute monarch with limited tenure. His policies are not as safe as those of a British Prime Minister but his tenure is safer. In the case of Roosevelt, he is elected by the common people who trust him, even if he is unable to carry an adequate domestic program through against the opposition of the peoples representatives.

We have in some respects reached a situation analogous to Augustan solution of the problems of the Roman Empire. Our President, like the Roman emperor,

uses the prestige and power of his office to prevent the social chaos which would ensue if the struggle between various oligarchies in the senate were not checked. Roosevelt's, as Augustus', power and prestige is derived from the confidence of the rank and file, though in our case the voter has more, and the army less, authority in determining the issue.

Such a system is a precarious method of solving real issues. Rather it is a way of postponing the real issues. If it were not for the peril of the foreign problem it might actually be better to allow Republican reaction to have its way in the next election, in the hope that this would result in a new political alignment. But the urgency of the foreign issue makes such a course inadvisable.

The post-war period does not look rosy for America.

The Perils of Being the Judge

The Scripture is full of warnings against the perils of judging one another. "Judge not that ye be not judged" declared Jesus. "Therefore thou are inexcusable O man, whosoever thou art that judgest" wrote St. Paul, "for where-in thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same thing."

These are hard sayings; because the preservation of minimal standards of justice in human society depend upon our being judge over one another. There are distinctions between good and bad men, good and bad nations, just and unjust actions, which must be maintained. We are called upon, not only to pass judgments but to execute them. But these Scriptural warnings remind us at what peril such judgments are made. Men who judge each other, forget that the executor of judgment finally stands under the same judgment of which he is

the executor. Nations become involved in titanic conflicts in which those who take up the sword perish by the sword; and their defeat is rightly regarded as God's judgment upon the evil they have done. Thus the German nation will be defeated; and the hope of her final renewal depends upon her ability to comprehend this defeat as a divine judgment upon the evil she has done.

It must be admitted however that the ability of a defeated nation to understand the meaning of such a defeat depends not merely upon its own spiritual resources but upon those of the victors. Do the victors understand that they are under judgment as well as the vanquished? If they do not they try invariably to falsify history and make it appear that the vanquished were solely responsible for the evil which befell all the nations. Invariably they also corrupt the execution of judgment with vindictive self-glorification. That is why history is so tortuous in arriving at any decent standards of justice. That is why victory in one war so frequently sows the seeds of another war.

In the present situation the relevance of the Biblical warnings is particularly clear. The German tyranny grew out of an international anarchy for which we were all responsible. If we forget the mutual guilt in which we were all involved and if we imagine that we have banished evil from international relations by the defeat of our foes, we will fail in the task of organizing the international community. We will in fact make such an organization quite impossible by our efforts to destroy our foes; when what is required is that the defeated foes be finally brought creatively into a new community of nations.

The statements of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin about the necessity of des-

troubling Japan and the similar implications of their statements in regard to Germany make it quite apparent that the world already confronts this issue. It is already quite clear that the immense self-righteousness of victorious nations is almost as great a peril to justice as the evil against which the "righteous" nations, who will now be victorious, had to contend.

One reason why it is particularly difficult to arrive at any decent justice in international relations is because the international community has no impartial judges as national communities have. Therefore victorious nations become "judges in their own case." There is no situation which offers greater temptations to pride and vainglory.

It must be clear therefore that the Christian church must be ready to speak in God's name to the victors, in order to moderate their pride; just as it had to speak to the "righteous" nations in another vein when idealists made the fact, that no nation is pure enough to be the executor of God's judgment, a reason for evading our duty in restraining forms of evil which were worse than our own.

Negroes and the Railroads

The new chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, Malcolm Ross, is trying very hard to make the original purpose behind the President's organization of the committee work. He has ordered 16 southern railroads to stop discriminating against negroes, and more particularly to allow them to become locomotive firemen, a job which negroes have held in the past and from which they have only recently been excluded. In view of the manpower shortage such discrimination at the present moment is particularly reprehensible.

The southern railroads have answered that "it is utterly unrealistic that—prob-

lems of such delicacy can be solved out of hand by the fiat of your committee's directives.—Your committee is wholly without constitutional or legal jurisdiction." The southern railroads follow the logic of suggesting that giving negroes the right to hold position as firemen would end in their claiming the right to be engineers and conductors. To grant this right, declare the rail executives would "antagonize the travelling public."

For the moment the position of engineers and conductors is not under discussion. Mr. Ross is merely trying to restore a right which negroes once held, the right to be firemen. It may be observed that Mr. Ross faces almost as much opposition from the rail unions as from the bosses. It is to be hoped that he will remain firm and that democratic opinion will come increasingly to his support. Our nation must awake to the seriousness of our policy of race discrimination in the armed services and in industry. In the matter of race we are only a little better than the Nazis.

Christian Otherworldliness

One of the most difficult problems in relating the Christian faith to political responsibility is that political realities are always so very far from conforming to anything which the moral imperatives of our faith seem to demand. Thus there is a demand for universal community at the very heart of Christianity; and the Christian church rightly discerns that the organization of a just world order is demanded by the Christian view of life. Yet the actual business of organizing such a world order is filled with the ambiguities of power politics, imperialism, and every other form of egoistic corruption.

It is already quite apparent that the new world after the war will give the sensitive conscience little peace. The

world community will be, at least partly, corrupted by the arrogance of the white man, the power lusts of the great powers, the vindictiveness of the victors, the frustrations of the small nations, and every other vagary which expresses itself in the collective life of man. If we allow these corruptions to tempt us to despair we will utterly fail to fulfill the mission which has been assigned to our generation. We must create some kind of tolerable world community or perish. On the other hand we can not accept any of the corruptions which creep into the new world community as normative.

It may be worth observing that it is not the Christian faith, but secular idealism, which expresses itself naturally in terms of utopianism and imagines that there will be, or that there ought to be, a perfect society of universal justice on the other side of a war or a revolution. Secular idealism nourishes hope on illusions and loses its hope when the sorry and tragic realities of history dispel the illusions. Thus it oscillates between illusions and disillusionment. It ought to be the task of Christian faith to help our generation to assess the possibilities and limits of history in a deeper dimension so that we will be strong enough to maintain our responsibility toward our historic tasks, whatever may be the disappointments in achieving the desired ends.

It is at this point that the much despised Christian "other-worldliness" becomes a resource for historic striving. We strive for the Kingdom of God in history, but we do not expect its realization there. Historical realities ought not to tempt the Christian to despair because he ought to know that the final good does not appear in history. The Christian knows that "if in this life only we had hoped in Christ we are of all men most miserable." The Christian knows, or ought to know, that

we never have, in either individual or collective achievement, the perfect serenity of achieved ideals. Our peace is never a purely moral peace. Our final peace is the peace of forgiveness, of justification by faith. The Kingdom of God always remains fragmentary and corrupted in history. Even the highest historic achievement points beyond itself to a more final consummation; even as every historic judgment points beyond itself to a more ultimate judgment. To know this is to have a final security beyond the securities of history, and a final hope beyond the achievements of history.

Such "other-worldliness" is not an escape from history. It gives us a fulcrum from which we can operate in history. It gives us a faith by which we can seek to fulfill our historic tasks without illusions and without despair.

They Died For Free Enterprise

Recently the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad sent an advertisement to all ministers in which a touching picture of a little war orphan was presented. His father was missing. What had the father died for? To insure a system of "free enterprise" for his little one. The Chesapeake and Ohio wanted all the spiritual leaders of America to know that it would do all it could to keep faith with the little boy's heroic father.

Now President Nicholas Murray Butler takes occasion to harp on the same theme in his annual report to the university. President Butler writes: "The ideal industrial life of America is typically represented by the striking careers of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller.—Our country abounds in similar illustrations of the rise from simple beginnings to very important and influential maturity.—Such is the America we are called upon to defend and which we

are defending with all our power. Let us have care that no intriguing forces or groups working behind the scenes or openly shall wreck that system while the youth of the nation is offering its life to defend it and to strengthen it for new centuries of growth and achievement."

It is of course true that freedom of opportunity, by which the lowliest may rise to the highest position in a democracy is one of the cherished characteristics of a free society. But the naive identification of the unlimited opportunities which American capitalism offered in its heyday with the whole meaning of democracy represents a habit of thought which probably imperils our democratic future more than any other weakness. It must be remembered that there are other, and in some respects better, democracies than our own, which never had the virgin continent which we exploited and which never therefore produced the "rags to riches" success stories which belong to the American legend. Our phenomenal wealth made some things possible in America, which may serve to illustrate the idea of freedom of opportunity in a rather vivid way; but which represent only a very small aspect of the virtues of a democratic society.

Furthermore the great fortunes which were accumulated in the buccaneer period of American capitalism were a proof of the weakness of our democracy as well as

of the favored soil upon which it grew. Despite our great natural wealth they were accumulated at the price of justice. Perhaps President Butler has not heard of the Homestead riots and does not know the relation between the social facts to which they point and the Carnegie fortune.

The future of our nation depends upon our ability to bring all of our vast economic processes under sufficient social control to guarantee, not that a few Carnegies may emerge, but that all men shall have a chance for a decent life. This need not mean the destruction of "free enterprise"; but neither does it mean the preservation of the system we have known in the past.

Confessions In Order

It has just occurred to us that the New Deal budget used to contain a deficit of about four billion dollars a year and that all conservatives in America were wont to prophesy imminent bankruptcy for the nation on this account. Now our annual budget contains a war deficit of more than forty billion per year and no one speaks of bankruptcy. Have any of the prophets of doom ever publicly confessed their error? There is of course some limit to the debt a nation can carry; but the limit is obviously not at the point where it was supposed to be in 1936.



INDIA? . . .

A Question That Has Not Been Answered

By LEONARD M. SCHIFF

When I returned to India in the spring of 1937 the Indian National Congress, having won the elections, had taken office under the new scheme of provincial autonomy. They eventually controlled seven out of the eleven Indian provinces. I sensed a new atmosphere, an eagerness to take the initiative and to make a brave attempt at tackling the obvious problems of agrarian poverty and illiteracy. In more than one province helpful though somewhat complicated legislation was enacted to secure land tenure for the peasant and some relief from chronic indebtedness. Mr. Gandhi propounded his "Wardha scheme" of education, which intrigued the experts. They put it into shape and it might very well have provided a "new deal" for village education. There was a new freedom of speech and assembly. The peasants marched in thousands to the provincial capital in one province to lay their grievances before the minister. The left wing began to increase in influence, and as was the case in France after the establishment of the Popular Front, there was a great increase in strikes in the cities. Up to the beginning of war there was an internal struggle for power within the Congress between the new young socialist bloc and the older Gandhian leadership. The provincial ministries proved cautious and orthodox and gained high praise from the Civil Service. Nehru at this time adopted what may be called a "centrist" position, often at variance with the "High Command" but remaining aloof from the

Left. This was due partly to his belief that internal unity was essential until India's full independence was achieved, and partly to his not unjustified suspicion of Subhas Bose who had become the Congress President and the leader of the Left. Nehru disliked the methods adopted by the Gandhian group in removing Bose from the leadership, but was relieved that it had taken place. He realized more than others that Bose was fundamentally more fascist than socialist. When war broke out the "Right" had increased its influence within the Congress.

The first reaction to the war was the reassertion to the belief in non-violence; neutrality, and non-embarrassment pending a clarification of Britain's intentions in regard to India.

It is strange that during the "phoney" period of the war the Congress remained passive, merely being content with resigning from office in the provinces on the plea that the provinces had not been consulted by the Viceroy when he declared India at war. Legally he was within his rights to do so, tactically it was a mistake. His action and the ministerial resignations were the first blunders in this tragedy of errors. In these provinces the governors took control with the help of I. C. S. "advisers."

When the war begun in real earnest Nehru and the Congress President, the devout Muslim theologian Azad, made a qualified offer of support. The Viceroy responded by making his "Offer" of

August 1940 of an enlarged Council. This the Congress turned down. It has consistently refused anything less than full responsible government at the Centre. It was the first of many rebuffs to the Azad-Nehru anti-fascist element, to whom non-violence was not a dogma but a policy which might be revised. The result was that Mr. Gandhi once more took the stage and proposed individual acts of civil disobedience, demanding the right of free speech and advocacy of non-violence. This was never intended to be a mass movement; a few of Gandhi's chosen disciples were arrested and finally Nehru himself went behind the bars. This passive and negative policy of the Congress had the effect of strengthening the hands of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. They demanded Pakistan — a separate Muslim state in N. India—as the price of cooperation in the war effort.

During all this period the Government had no difficulty in recruiting from the poor and land-hungry peasantry for the army and in any case no serious attempt was made to embarrass the war effort. India was moved and impressed by the Battle of Britain and it is said that Gandhi wept when he heard of the blitz on London. Yet at this critical period neither Congress nor government took any action calculated to inspire the masses and one had a queer sense of living on another planet watching history being made at a distance.

The entrance of U.S.S.R. into the war modified the attitude of the Indian Communists who declared that the war had become "a peoples war." With the appearance of the Japanese on the scene the Indian stage was set for a new act. Some congressmen were released from jail, and as the news from the East became increasingly grave it became clear that a new approach to the Indian situa-

tion would have to be made. The visit of the Chinese Generalissimo and his wife to India might well have set the ball rolling. Nehru and Gandhi entertained them to lunch at the house of the millionaire Birla, now treasurer of the Congress. Some of the younger European business men of Calcutta began to start thinking. One wrote a letter to the press calling for unity and a national government and suggesting that the Europeans should declare "their readiness and keenness to welcome this right and logical advance and to identify themselves more completely with the country from which their livelihood is derived." He added that "Indians must have something of their very own to fight for. When India's land is owned and ruled over by Indians then and only then can this be the case." He ended by asking what inspiration for maximum war effort can be derived from a "promise of dominion status at some vague and undetermined date in the uncertain future." This letter astonishingly caught the Indian viewpoint. A little later I was asked to put before Nehru a suggestion made by a group of Europeans as to a possible method for forming a national government. He then made it clear that this would be acceptable to Congress if it were understood that such a government had full "collective responsibility" and that its members were not merely the Viceroy's advisers.

It was at this moment that Sir Stafford Cripps arrived. He received a genuine welcome in India. His reputation was great and his background from the point of view of Indian nationalists highly satisfactory. His press conferences were most successful and the genuine impression was given that India was to have a national government. Then the tone changed. The negotiations broke down

over the issue of the Viceroy's veto and those of us who had heard what Nehru had to say began to feel very gloomy. It has been said in England that the Congress refused to play through a reluctance to take power. They would reply that in fact power was not offered them, but only the Viceroy's offer of an enlarged council dressed up with controversial suggestions as to the future. The promises for the future were impressive but these were condemned by Gandhi as "a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank." The truth is that just then no one was interested in the future. In a conversation subsequently Nehru expressed his sorrow that the discussions had broken down, and that his only concern had been that India might be inspired to resist the enemy "to be a China and not a Burma."

Whoever is to blame for this imbroglio, the result has been disastrous. A condition of expectancy had been produced and what had resulted was not fruition but anti-climax. Recriminations multiplied and the Europeans hardened in their attitude. Pressure began to be applied to those of them who continued to insist that India must have a national government. During this period the invasion began—not the Japanese, but the British and later the American troops. They arrived in the midst of a bitter quarrel but many of them succeeded astonishingly well in cutting through and fraternizing with the people. Had the political situation been handled properly there is no doubt that these friendly lads, free from racial superiority and eager to fraternize, might well have been the greatest help in creating a new relationship. Indeed to some extent they have made an impression. But for a few months they were greeted with cries of "Quit India," and sometimes with brick-

bats and they in turn were used to quell incipient rebellion.

This was subsequent to the meeting of the Congress and the passing of a resolution threatening "struggle" if a real surrender of power was not conceded. The resolution represented a victory of the Nehru over the Gandhi element, for Gandhi's original idea had been a demand for the evacuation of all foreign troops so that India might meet the Japanese, if they came, with non-violent methods! Nehru insisted on a demand for power coupled with a guarantee of welcome to the allied troops on India soil. A possibility of settlement remained. The veteran Congress leader Rajagopalacharia, formerly Premier of Madras, had left the Congress because he had called for an immediate agreement with the Muslim League. He and the Indian Communists pleaded for national unity and resistance against the Japanese and warned the Congress of the dangerous path on which they were setting forth. The Communists appealed pathetically to the Congress not to pass the resolution as it would mean "national suicide." It was passed and the Congress leaders were immediately arrested. Many moderates were appalled, and I remember seeing the aged Bishop of Calcutta who has worked so hard for a settlement, sitting at his desk murmuring "Jerusalem, that knowest not the day of thy visitation." The hot-heads gained control, members of the congress Socialist Party and old associates of Bose, who by this time gave place to organized sabotage. It was a grim business. In the cities tramcars and public buildings were burnt and railways seriously cut, and the government took severe measures, including the revival of the Whipping acts and collective fines. In many villages all the Hindus were made to pay,

guilty or not, but the Muslims were exempted.

Large elements in the country remained aloof, for example the Trade Union Congress, the Communists, the Muslim League and the group round M. N. Roy. There was never any question of a general strike and the communists used all their influence both to check sabotage and to criticize government repression. They, in common with moderate opinion continued to demand the release of the Congress leaders and a new settlement. When Gandhi began his fast large sections of the people came together to demand his release. The refusal to permit anyone, even the Bishop of Calcutta, to see Gandhi caused great bitterness and he remains incommunicado.

The bitterness in India is great. Many deplore the sabotage but almost all combine to criticize the administration. The situation has been made worse by the serious food crisis. I imagine that this is already known in the U. S. A. and I need not enlarge on it. When I left India in March the position was already serious. The attempts at control had failed and it was obvious that the people were bound to suffer. The new Viceroy has an unenviable task, but a new ap-

proach must be made. The question remains unanswered. Have genuine anti-fascists like Nehru and Azad to remain in jail; are India's national aspirations to be always crushed? The allies are strong now. The war is going in our favour. Let us pray that the new Viceroy may be given both the wisdom and the freedom of action necessary for ending the deadlock. As a group of leading Missionaries have suggested, there is need for an amnesty, an admission of past mistakes and the readiness to make a new start.

Neither Britain nor the Indian Nationalists are without sin. The bitter experience of the last months may make both sides obdurate. Christians who believe in reconciliation and who realize the need for repentance might very well make themselves heard. It is no good both sides blaming the other. The whole future of Asia depends upon a settlement. Britain must cease to regard India as private property and be ready to release the national leaders, to form a national government, and to associate the other allies—U.S.S.R., China and U.S. A.—in a solemn guarantee of India's future freedom, together with their readiness to act as arbitrators in any dispute. So only may a tragedy become a comedy and find a happy ending.



THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

By ROBERT E. FITCH

What are the signs of the times? This is the question which every interpreter of the current scene, from a Hebrew prophet to a Walter Lippman, must be forever asking himself. A Christian philosophy of history, of course, will insist that the true sign of the times is the sign of the eternal and the timeless. In some way or other—either naively providential, or exhibited with more subtle complexity—history reveals the operation of a moral law. Therefore, the crucial signs of the times are found in the spiritual condition of a people, in the quality of its morale, in the play of the moral factor over against factors that are political, economic, and technological.

Yet the reading of these signs is a notoriously difficult task. In this essay I shall not pretend to make easy that task. But it may be helpful to define its peculiarities: to indicate how the prophetic interpreter of history is looking for the obscure rather than for the obvious; is dealing with the relatively unpredictable as against what may be predicted with a fair degree of certainty; has his attention fixed upon the enduring rather than upon the dramatically immediate. These at least are clues which point the direction of his inquiry, even if they do not guarantee the accuracy and the authority of his conclusions.

I.

One of the best instances of the importance of the obscure as against the obvious lies in the historical writings of Josephus. Apparently it is still matter of debate among scholars as to whether

the references to Jesus of Nazareth belong to the original writing, or are the later interpolation of some pious scribe. There are some good folk who simply cannot believe that Josephus would have omitted all mention of an event which they regard as the critical turning point in human history. And there are maliciously minded anti-clericals and agnostics who suggest that of course Josephus abstained from reference to the Nazarene because the life of the Christ was really of trivial importance, anyway.

The decision on the technical question of authenticity or forgery is irrelevant to our considerations here. What is interesting is that Josephus paid attention to the obviously important personages and events of his day, and either neglected to mention, or gave only slight notice to, an occurrence which he regarded as of minor significance. Thus it is that his pages are amply filled with accounts of the career of Herod the Great, of the procurator Pontius Pilate, of the Caesars and their henchmen, and of the priests and their underlings. He had, therefore, little space to treat of the birth of a spiritual force which should prove to be the most revolutionary as well as the most enduring in world civilization. Like any other historian of the contemporary scene, he believed in the significance of the obvious and the unimportance of the obscure.

The same obliquity of vision is illustrated by analysis of the progress of the Second World War. It is the obvious thing, to say that the United Nations must win this war because of their joint superiority in manpower, in natural re-

sources, and in industrial technology. One may point a dramatic finger at the vast millions of men in the armies of China and of Russia, at the spectacular achievement of the United States in making itself, within a few years, the great arsenal of democracy, at our present undisputed control of the chief seaways and airways of the world. Thus, to the alleged realist, it is evident once more that might will, in fact, make right; while the present conjunction of ideal right with military might in the camp of the allies is to be regarded as a happy coincidence without material meaning.

It is forgotten, however, that the moral factor determines whether or not we shall use the resources that we have. The czarist Russia that was once defeated in battle by Japan had substantially the same resources in manpower and in natural wealth as does the communist Russia which threatens Japan today. But the old Russian had neither the vision nor the will to develop its resources, with the consequence that it was morally defeated even before it was subjected to naval and military catastrophe.

We in the United States might remind ourselves of the spiritual condition of the American people in the days before Pearl Harbor. Many of our citizens could see no ethical issue in the conflict between the great European Powers; they were resolved, in any case, to keep themselves free from that conflict; and they proceeded, therefore, to convince themselves that we could not bring the conflict to a victorious conclusion even if we did participate in it. More than one great industrialist, or military expert, undertook to prove, with statistical precision, the impossibility of overcoming the lag in our production of materiel, and of mastering the problems of transportation and of communication

which might make out fighting forces effective in a foreign area. Where, then, were our great natural resources? Obviously, when we had no will to see them, and no creative energy to exploit them, they were as good as non-existent.

In a manner still more profound, the moral factor contributes to the eventual victory of American arms in this war. We take for granted, and therefore ignore, what is of the greatest consequence — our heritage of Hebrew-Christian idealism and of political democracy. When we do speculate on the matter at all, we are inclined to argue that American democracy is a product of the mores of the frontier, or of the geographic conditions of our continent. But there is no reason in geography why the United States should be a democracy, any more than there are geographical reasons why Russia should be a dictatorship, czarist or communist, or why the old China should have been a loosely federated empire of semi-independent provinces. And it is logically preposterous to assume that the infinitely varied geographic circumstances of the mid-western prairies, the hills of New England, the timber-land of the north-west, the plantation country of the old South, and the mild climate of the Pacific Coast should all conspire to produce the one consequence of political democracy.

Indeed, we are winning this war because we are still the heirs of a great spiritual tradition which we have not yet succeeded in corrupting altogether. It is this heritage of freedom and of justice, of moral and religious and intellectual aspiration which made possible the exploitation of our land, which guaranteed a relatively equal distribution of its benefits to all citizens, which provided the conditions under which natural resources might be discovered and properly util-

ized, and which ensures today the superior physical stamina and the superior energy and initiative of the American fighting man. Without this heritage, the natural resources of our continent would be non-existent, and the industries, the technical skills, and the vitality of our people would be an undreamed-of myth.

II.

The moral factor is at a disadvantage not only in being obscure—or so obvious that we ignore it and take it for granted—but also in lending itself less readily to precise prediction than do other factors.

Jeremiah is a pathetic instance of this difficulty. He offers an illustration of the naive sort of ethical determinism which argues that, when a people is morally corrupt, it ought to be punished, and therefore it will be punished. History, however, is always the scene of pluralism and of relativity, and the moral factors in it do not operate with such unilinear simplicity and precision. Jeremiah was sure, at one time, that the Scythians were being sent as a visitation from God, but the unfeeling Scythians passed by on the other side. Again, Jeremiah was convinced that King Jehoiakim must die in disgrace and be buried with the burial of an ass, because the crimes of the monarch merited such penalty; but King Jehoiakim was respectably laid to rest with his fathers. It was not until the fall of Jerusalem before the forces of Nebuchadnezzar that Jeremiah's insight appeared to achieve a somewhat belated vindication.

It is understandable, therefore, why the wearied mind of man should turn itself to affairs which follow a more routine and predictable procedure—the weather, for instance. The Scriptures suggest that, even in Jesus' day, there were those who concealed their blindness

to moral realities by boasting of their ability to read the course of the seasons, the coming of fair weather or foul. Today the predictions of our meteorologists already direct, with pleasing precision, the navigation of the sea and of the air, the planting and harvesting of crops, the insurance rates against the amusement business on Labor Day and the Fourth of July, and the timely bombing of big cities.

Technology is also a realm in which the craving for security about the future may find great satisfaction. In the *New Atlantis*, Francis Bacon brilliantly foretold the coming era of applied science, and his technologist's paradise is amply realized, in our own day, in the achievements of a Thomas Edison and an Elizabeth Arden, a Henry Ford and a Lydia Pinkham, the Wright Brothers and the Smith Brothers. Automobiles, airplanes, cosmetics, cough drops, truncated dogs' heads that lick their chops at the approach of a soup-bone, and spiritually eviscerated robots that raise hand and voice in a heil! at the approach of a fuhrer: all these are present realities. Similarly, one may study the advertisements in any popular periodical, with their post-war visions of electronic cooking, and a helicopter in every home, and know that, of a sooth, these things shall be.

Economics is another area that seems to lend itself to exact prediction. Here the chief toy of the orthodox classical economist is the theory of the business cycle. Once he has found acceptance for his basic assumptions, he can account for everything from a slump in the stock market to the course of the sun-spots, and plot the probabilities of prosperity and depression, of profit and of loss with persuasive plausibility. The communist's dialectical interpretation of history is simply another species of the same genus;

and one knows how its votaries foretell, with infallible certainty, the fall of kingdoms and the rise of new cultures, and apportion, with Calvinistic rigor, the meed of salvation or of damnation that shall fall to the lot of one people or the other. A survey of the actual evidence of history makes clear the dubious character of this whole procedure, either as a device of explanation, or as an instrument of prediction; but its seers are so well supported in their prestige by the eager credulity of the citizens of a business civilization, and are so well versed in the arts of rationalization and of equivocation, that the essential soundness of their insights is no more questioned in our culture than, in old Ireland, it was doubted that the principal causal agencies in all events, military, economic, and amatory, were fairies.

Politics also lends itself to prediction. Rousseau, the prophet of radical democracy, heard of the American Declaration of Independence two years before his death; and, had he lived another eleven years, he would have seen the beginnings of the democratic revolution in France. In a smaller way, our newspaper pundits, with the aid of Gallup polls, foretell the winning or the losing of an election, the rise or fall of a political party, and the fortunes of a public leader. It is obvious, moreover, that the center of power in the modern world is gradually shifting from economics to politics, and one may reasonably guess that, for the next century or so, the statesman and the politician will enjoy the prestige once held by the business man and the entrepreneur in a capitalistic culture, or by the priest and the knight in a medieval culture.

Politics, economics, technology, meteorology: these things can be predicted with reasonable probability. But, alas, we cannot foretell, with so much certainty,

whether political leaders shall be wise and good, or foolish and evil; whether prosperity shall provide the basis for the life abundant, or simply flood to overflowing the feed-troughs of complacency and corruption; whether the instruments of science shall be exploited by the philanthropist, or by the cruel fanatic; whether the rain shall fall upon the just or upon the unjust.

III.

Another way of stating the problem is to say that the prophetic interpreter of history has his eye upon enduring forces rather than upon immediate and ephemeral features.

The issue may be illustrated, partly, by raising the practical question of the relative weight and potency of China and of Russia in the post-war world. All the immediate evidence suggests that Russia is the power with which we must reckon first. She has vast natural resources and huge industries, a tremendous military might already proved on the battlefield, and a political and cultural unity which enables her to direct her energies with power and precision. China has none of these things.

But the long-run question as to which nation seems likely to make the most positive and enduring contribution to civilization may yield another answer. An ethical analysis of the Russian cultural complex reveals some ambiguities. On the one hand, Russia seems to understand social justice, equality, and brotherhood through community, better than do the democratic nations. On the other hand, Russia knows nothing of the meaning of liberty in our sense, or of the ultimate sanctity of the individual, or of the charity which qualifies the severity of the law. Also Russia is a totalitarian state, a power polity, in which the mores

present no obvious check upon predatory and imperialistic ambitions. Finally, it is significant that the United States is the foreign country most admired by the Russian people and that what they admire in us is, not our Hebrew-Christian heritage of idealism, nor our political democracy, but the brute fact of our material splendor. It is no wonder, then, that the commissar and the capitalist discover unsuspected spiritual affinities, and we may believe that the one as much as the other worships the fetish of the full dinnerpail, the chicken in every pot, and two cars in every garage.

China, however, owes more, at present, to the American missionary than to the American capitalist, and she appears to value our gift of the Christian faith more highly than our example of industrial efficiency. In the future, to be sure, it is quite likely that American business enterprise will find a more fruitful field of activity in China than in any other relatively unexploited area. But when the benefits of modern technology do come to that country, they will be enjoyed by a people which, at this reading, has no idolatrous worship either of power or of prosperity, and which is as tenacious of the wisdom of its ancient Confucian sages as it is sincere in its loyalty to the idealism of the Hebrew prophet and the Christian saint. Thus a long-range view of the matter suggests that, in the material sense, China will develop more slowly and more uncertainly than Russia, but that, in the eventual coming to maturity of her new civilization, she will display a sanity of mind and of heart and a richness of spiritual values which are unequalled in the great cultures of the West.

As soon as one has ventured such a conjecture, it is necessary at once to enter some qualifications. For it is possible that the native Russian love of music,

literature, and the fine arts, and a resurgence of the nobler part of Russia's religious heritage, may lend to her civilization a gentleness, a mellowness, and a depth of content, which are not implicit in her present political and economic structures. And it is possible that China's interest in the slow work of the educational and moral reconstruction of her people may cause her to abstain from such drastic measures as may be required to wipe out abuses and inefficiencies and corrupt practices hallowed by ancient usage. In that case, China will become simply one more capitalist culture, shielding its essential decadence behind a mask of Confucian mannerisms and Christian pretenses.

The ambiguity of the conclusion to this specific bit of analysis may suggest to some persons the futility of the whole enterprise which is recommended in this paper. I may have shown that the obscure facts are of more enduring significance than the obvious facts, but perhaps I have demonstrated too well the uncertain and unpredictable character of history with reference to the very features which are most of all to be cherished. To this it can be replied only that, whatever kingdoms may rise and fall, God's Law yet abides and works in history; and that, though our gift of free will makes it hard to determine in advance who will align himself with this Law, and who against it, nevertheless it is certain that only those things that stand under this Law shall endure, and that whatsoever stands against it shall pass away. Thus it is still the case that the true sign of the times is the sign of the eternal, for it is only this which either endures in history or has meaning in history. As for the other, alleged signs of the times, they are signs only of themselves, and so, taken in isolation, are signs that signify nothing.

THE CROSS AND THE RESURRECTION

By CLIFFORD L. STANLEY

In the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle and of the Temple there was a sacred object, the Ark of the Covenant. The Ark was the symbol of the central element of the Hebrew religion, namely, the covenant with Jehovah. Later the Ark was lost and nothing was ever found to take its place. This paper is written in the conviction that there is a central element in the Christian religion also. This element is of such decisive importance that it may be said to constitute Christianity. The element for which we make so high a claim is the two-sided fact of the Cross and the Resurrection. With a sure instinct for its central element, the Christian Church has placed the Cross on its holy of holies. The Cross as found on our altars stands also for the Resurrection. That is why an empty cross and not a crucifix, with the Christ actually upon the cross, should be regarded as the chief Christian symbol. As long as Christ is still on the cross the Resurrection has not taken place. But a cross, used by God as the means of sacrificing His Son and standing also for that over which God has triumphed by bringing His Son to life again, is fit to serve as the sign of the Christian faith.

Just as the Hebrew Covenant was a formula for the relationship of God and man, so the Cross and Resurrection comprise a formula for their relationship. There are many ways of relating the divine and human and all have their value, but the specifically Christian way revolves around the Cross and Resurrec-

tion. These are the essentials of relationship to God in the Christian way. There is a society which you can join only by having an ancestor who fought in the Revolutionary War. There is another society which you can join only by having an ancestor who was an officer in the Revolutionary War. These are their requirements and you have to have them to belong to these particular societies. In like manner Christianity requires Crucifixion and Resurrection as its qualification. Christians are those who believe that God prefers to have men related to him by this formula. Christians are those who believe that God revealed His will by Crucifixion and Resurrection through Christ.

I. The Meaning of Crucifixion

Since the Christian formula is a dual one, we may well begin with the first part of it, namely, that which deals with crucifixion.

The Cross is found only in Christianity; no one else demands it. Since no one else demands it we will do well to inquire why they do not. This prior inquiry into Christianity's opposite will be a good way to approach Christianity itself.

When I first came to Missouri, Bishop Scarlett explained to me about the Bishop Tuttle Memorial house. He said it was so designed and constructed that additional stories could be constructed on the top if ever the need arose for them.

That is, the foundation was strong and good and not only to support the present structure, but also to provide for a still larger edifice. This illustration will serve very well to suggest the view which I consider to be opposite to Christianity.

Outside of Christianity the human will, like the foundation of the Bishop Tuttle Memorial, is thought to be sound and capable of supporting the full extent of the house of life. That does not mean that men outside of Christianity are satisfied with life as they find it. Oh, no. They are in many cases not at all satisfied with it. They yearn for a better world. They deplore the dark character of much of human life. The real issue here is their diagnosis of what is wrong and their prescription for improvement.

When such men come to explain what is wrong they use such explanations as the following. For instance, they say that men are immature. Evolution has been operative, where man is concerned, for only a short time. Give it plenty of time and things will improve. Or, men's wills have been sluggish. The thing that is needed is to stir them up. Or they say that men have erred through ignorance. It is simply a matter of honest mistake. Enlighten them and they will do better. This was Socrates diagnosis: knowledge is virtue; vice is ignorance. Or, to take another line of explanation, it is admitted that men have made the wrong choice, perhaps deliberately. Let them now reverse it. Just as they chose the wrong course let them now choose the right one. There is no question of man's ability to choose the right course. He is as able to do it and as free to do it as he was to choose the wrong way.

In all this there is no question of the soundness and freedom of will. All that is required is growth of it, fuller use of it,

more enlightened use of it, a right use of it. Then it will serve as a good foundation for the mansion of life. When it is so used man will be satisfied with his life in this world of time. The heart will find repose and life will be marked by serenity. As for eternity, if eternity is considered, the same procedure will settle man's account with eternity. Thus man will be tall, sun-crowned in the universe and when he enters death's purple rafted house the guests will arise and stand.

There is no denying that there is something deeply moving in all this, something elevated and noble. Also I am quick to affirm that there is something of abiding truth in this idea. I would add, further, that we must employ every one of the devices just mentioned in dealing with the problem of life. There is immaturity and at times the counsel is to wait. There is ignorance and the therapy is to enlighten. There is sluggishness and the bugle must sound and not uncertainly. There is wrong choice and its happy reversal.

Yet Christianity is still a cross. And the Cross is the slaying of the will. To be sure the Cross is the death of a man's body and the end of a career. But the meaning of these things, the inner thing which happened through them, is the utter extinguishment of a human will. "A body thou hast prepared for me. Lo, I am come to do thy will."

Let us pause for a while with this idea because it is the essence of crucifixion. How is the will slain? It is destroyed when man ceases to hope from it and trust in it. He ceases to expect that the good life can be produced as a visible structure in this world. Sooner or later in every human achievement a rift appears. Gradually the rift widens until it

breaks the achievement into fragments. Why is this true? It is because the will has a definite character and all that it does is stained by that character. The will is a fallen thing. To say that, is not to say it is bad or all bad or simply bad. That is impossible and it is demonstrably not true. The will is mixed. It is not pure evil but then it is not pure good. Least of all is it simply neutral in character. It is mixed: it is good and evil. Better, it is good corrupted by evil. By means of the good in it, it achieves the wonderful and marvelous things that men do in this world. Because of the evil in it, these works are tainted from the start and in the end they are spoiled by the evil which always accompanies them. Every time man begins a new work he does so with the hope that it will be different this time. This time there will be no evil in the product. There is something moving about this ever-renewed hope, in view of man's many disappointments. It is a tear-starting thing; one of the many reasons we love and venerate mankind. "This time it will be different," man says, as hope leaps. But again the hurt look of disappointment in man's eyes. This hope also was an illusion. Christians understand this. They remove their hopes finally from anything man does, and from everything he does from any tangible structure in this world. The order comes from the Captain, "Abandon ship!" The ship cannot be made seaworthy; it is no fit base for good seamen. "Abandon ship!" "If any man would come after me let him take up his cross and deny himself" (Mark 8:34). "He that hateth not his own life cannot be my disciple." (Luke 14:26)

"I am crucified to the world and the world unto me," says the Christian. (Gal. 6:14) So he denies himself and the world as the seat and the scene of his

hopes. They are slain by this withdrawal of hope. The rich and restless sounds of life fall away, just as the lights go out in a blackout, one by one. The silence that follows is like the slumber of a sleeping city. It is like the silence of the north country, but deeper. It is like the silence of dead men. But when a man dies, the world remains. This silence is deeper because the world ceases to be as well. It is like the silence before the creation, when the spirit of God brooded over the face of the waters. This silence is even deeper than that, because before Creation there were no sounds to be stilled. Now there is a great emptiness because there had been a whole world of sounds. It is not easy to die when one has lived, not easy to die in the usual sense. Doubtly difficult is it to die as a Christian does, to sweep away all of Creation as it has come to be, fallen and corrupted. Is it any wonder that the stout heart of Jesus quailed as he saw the cross approach? He began to be "sore amazed and very heavy." And he saith unto them, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful unto death." (Mark 14: 33, 34.) So the Son of Man and Christian man after him go down to the dreadful pains of non-existence. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

II. The Meaning of the Resurrection

After the Crucifixion there remains nothing but the endless wastes of an empty universe. If there is ever to be any existence again it will require an act of pure Creation as at the beginning, equally majestic and awful, equally beyond the power of reason to comprehend. Indeed this second and further act of Creation will be more marvelous and wonderful, because what is required is to raise up something which has existed

and then ceased to exist. To give life to something which has not existed is one thing. To reanimate a thing so that the self-same life will live again is a higher order of achievement, if we may be so bold as to discriminate between the works of the Lord. And it must be the self-same life which lives again or there is no use crucifying it, else there is no salvation in its death but simply the discarding of something.

The act of Creation which is needed, now takes place. Angels are breathless at the sight. The finger of God reaches out. There is a movement, a stirring. There is a touch of color. There is a sigh, something of a groan—it is not easy to be created. The winds begin to blow again, the clouds to drift across the face of the blue. The sun resumes his wonted shining. Everything is slightly wet and dripping. For some reason, very new worlds have to be slightly wet and dripping. The cities of man reappear. The familiar sounds greet the ear. The errand which was half completed when the Crucifixion occurred is finished in the Resurrection. The men who died mid-morning at their work, go home newly-created to supper at the end of the day. And when they sit down to eat they are breaking bread in the Kingdom of God.

This world of the Resurrection is the same old world. Christ Church Cathedral is still across from the Public Library. The man who needed a haircut needs one still. The government is as before and—worse luck, some of you would say—Roosevelt is still President. It is the same old world. Everything is the same. Yet nothing is the same. Everything is new. This world has just come fresh from the hand of God. It is a young world. It is, you recall, slightly wet and dripping. This world cannot be recognized because it never exist-

ed before. There is something ghostly and supernatural about this new world: it has known death, God's recent activity in re-creating it clings to it. This is not quite simply the old natural world all over again. It is a good and holy world. There is no sin in it, the sin having been purged away. It is a world of joy. It is a world of hope. It is a world from which death has been banished. Yes, it is a very new and unrecognized world.

In dealing with the Resurrection we must not miss this double note. It is the old world, all over again; it is at the same time a new and unrecognizable world. All this can be seen plainly in the Resurrection stories in the Gospels. On the one hand the risen Christ is the same. He is still in the body. So he eats fish to show them that he is in the body as before. "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I, myself: handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have" . . . and . . . he said unto them, "Have ye here any meat?" and they gave him a piece of broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them." (Luke 24:39, 41, 42.) Not only is he in a body, but it is the same body. "Then said he to Thomas, 'Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side'." (John 20:27.) The dread marks of death's hour are still there. The personal quality of the Risen Jesus is the same as in the days of his flesh. The same attitude of love to all, the same imperial consciousness.

On the other hand, there is something of the unrecognizable about the Risen Christ. Mary supposes him to be the gardener. (John 20:15.) The disciples on the Emmaus Road do not know him. (Luke 24.) It is necessary for Jesus to tell his disciples to "be not afraid."

(Matt. 28:10.) The disciples at the time of the miraculous drought of fishes do not know him. (John 21.) Part of the element of surprise and the unrecognizability of Christ must be written off to the unique experience of Resurrection as such. The sight of some one rising from the dead is enough to astonish and baffle anyone. But having acknowledged this, we must insist that there is a new dimension altogether in the Risen Christ. He is in the world in a new way. His presence in the world is the result of a hitherto unseen power of God, namely, God's re-vivifying power, and the signature of that power is strong upon him. This newness is reflected in Christ's unrecognizability.

Consequently we have to find both of these things in Christ and both of them at the same moment. He is the same as he was; also he is new and different. Or we may say that he is the old person, but present in a new and different way. This is the precise quality of the Resurrection life: **it is the presence of the old and familiar in a new and different way.** In the life of the Resurrection, then, we look for the old and familiar. Otherwise it is not saved but rather abandoned as worthless. But the old and familiar has received some treatment which transforms it. Otherwise it is simply had in the old self-defeating way and there is no salvation.

Let us say a word about each of these and, first, something about the old familiar life as the substance of the Resurrection. As we saw, Christ's body was present in the Resurrection, the same hands and feet, even the same scars in them. In like manner this same old world is the stuff of the Resurrection life. This comes as a surprise to us. We had thought of the Resurrection life as comprised of unknown activities in an un-

known realm. But it is not so. The structure of the Resurrection life is the old familiar one. The basic activities we have known still characterize it. There is, for example, the economic activity, earning a living, buying and selling, making and using. There is political activity, the inter-relation of man in an ordered society, the problem of power, the balance of individual and social life. There is social activity, the personal interchange of man with man. There is recreational life. Every worthy and structural element in life as we know it reappears in the Resurrection. Individuality also remains the same. The same structure of the ego is recreated, with its gifts, outlook and training. Each person recognizes himself as himself and recognizes others.

But while the old world reappears in the Resurrection there is something utterly new as well. The old world is present in a new way and on different terms. Here is a town with its determinate character. You live there. Then you go away to live and return after many years. Outwardly the town has altered little. Yet the whole look and aspect of the town is different. You see it as a stranger. Its soul eludes you. It is to you a collection of streets and houses. The person who has never left the town literally lives in another town from the one you see. So he is content and you count the moments till you can get away. So the Resurrection transforms the old world even while the old world remains. Here is a railroad or other corporation. Because of the incomprehensibilities of modern finance it goes into a receivership. The president of the road is made the receiver. His duties as receiver are the same as his duties as president, his routine as before. But now the railroad is owned elsewhere and what he did before in his own right

he does now as the agent of another. Everything about the railroad is the same as it was but its status. Because that is different, everything is altered. In a similar manner the status of this old, familiar world is altered by the Resurrection and so everything is altered.

What do I mean by a different status of the world? This. In the original situation before the Crucifixion, we lived in the world by nature and by right. Then we destroyed the status in the Crucifixion. Then God created the world again, created us again and put us in the world afresh. Now the owner is God and not man. He is the ultimate basis and not we.

Because the status of the world is different its meaning is different. The old world was, as we saw, mixed: it contained God's creativity and man's sin. The new world, fresh from God's hand, is not mixed at all. It is purely good. It partakes of God's holiness alone. This is true even though to the outward eye the old world with its mixed character remains. But to the eye of faith the world is transformed because of what God has done. God has declared that he has cleansed it, that its sins are forgiven. In many cases the sins remain, but there is an invisible mechanism, hidden in the mystery of divine being, which neutralizes them. Just as insulin controls the effects of diabetes but does not remove the malady, so forgiveness in many cases does not so much remove sin as to neutralize and overwhelm it. In many cases the Resurrection brings new power to overcome sins actually. But between the removal of the sins that can be removed and the neutralizing of those that are structural and cannot be removed, God makes the world as good as it was on Creation's morning.

Because the world is good, it ceases to be the realms of frustration and of the dashing of human hopes. Hope is reborn and despair ceases to be the major mood of the soul. Man looks ahead in unshaken trust and indeed in wordless anticipation to what God will do in the future both in this world and after it. "How are we sons of God and it doth not yet appear what we shall be." (I John 3:2.) "We are saved," St. Paul says in another place, "by hope." (Rom. 8:24.) Finally death disappears, since sin is gone and its gruesome wage is unnecessary. To be sure, we must die at the proverbial three score years and ten. But the meaning of that event is different. It is no longer the wage of sin; it is a purely natural event. Thus death itself witnesses to the change God has wrought through the Resurrection.

This is the Christian formula of salvation, Crucifixion first, followed afterward by Resurrection. This formula was first applied to the only begotten Son, Jesus Christ. In this way the formula was set up and thrown open to other men. When men believe that the death of Christ and his resurrection represent the final way that God deals with men, then they do truly believe in Christ. But this does not dispense them from the pains of Crucifixion and the experience of Resurrection. Rather when they accept Christ they insure that these very things will happen to them. Then, following Christ's example and leaning on his power, they turn their back resolutely on any final hope of satisfaction in what man does. This is the Cross. Then, too, like him and participating in his Resurrection, they know the unspeakable joy of living again after suffering the cruel pains of death. This is the Resurrection from the dead and the life everlasting.

O glory of the lighted mind!
How dead I'd been, how dumb, how
 blind.
The station brook, to my new eyes,

Was babbling out of Paradise,
The waters rushing from the rain
Were singing, Christ has risen again!

—John Masefield,
"The Everlasting Mercy."



ACCORDING AS WE HOPE

"Let Thy Mercy, O Lord, Be Upon Us According As We Hope In Thee." -- Psalm 33:22.

By R. A. LANDOR

The demonic spirit in man may be perceived without difficulty from various viewpoints; but Christian faith alone understands the full seriousness of human evil as being directed against God Himself. There is so dire a fate implicit in this awareness of God as the ultimate and humiliated victim of our sin that it must either be denied, or obscured, or find root in resources of divine forgiveness. But God is free. Therefore His mercy is bestowed out of a real decision.

The mercy of God emerges as our necessity only as a final resort. For this reason, rescue always has the character of a miracle. We possess such unbounded confidence in our own resources that when they finally and obviously fail the road to all fulfillment seems wholly and eternally blocked. Despair is this certitude. The overcoming of this despair within faith is recognized as a victory that only divine power could have won.

To understand God's mercy as our ultimate hope is to confess that our destiny is fashioned by a judgment which is made upon us. Hope is balanced upon the power of a word which is not ours, and yet which declares all that upon which our hope depends. In witnessing this significance of sin, faith trembles for itself. **God is feared.** Even when the word of His decision is revealed to faith as a word of love, fears about the depths of sin (which are unknown) or the aspects of sin (which are fleeting) are not finally submerged.

Nevertheless faith is not fear. It knows fear; but it also reveals a peculiar genius for having its fear turned into majestic hope. The free and full-hearted avowal of hope which is made by faith in the love of God is in radical contrast to the fear of unbelief that ultimately there is no true basis of hope. There is a universe of difference between the fear that by the evil use of our freedom we constantly torture and defy the only true ground of hope; and the fear that no true ground of hope exists. (Yet even the most vehement denial of hope fails to exclude entirely the hope that it may be wrong. We may never so alienate God that no hope remains with which to respond to His love. This necessity to hope may be seen as an added proof of the inviolability of God's image in man.)

If God's decision in His word of love, then our decision is "according as we hope" that this word is meant for us. Is man free if his destiny depends upon God's decision? It is only in God's decision of love and mercy that man is free, because freedom can only be violated by what is not true to it, and in God's holiness is both the image and the surety of human freedom.

Man is free for exactly the same reason that men are equal: we are created in the image of God. It is as irrelevant to point out the inequalities existing among men, in attempting to disprove their essential equality, as it is to point out the necessities binding man's life, in

attempting to disprove his essential freedom. The abode of man's freedom, as of his equality, is in the holy image which he bears, and because of which he is called a child of God. If "essential man" is God's image in him, (as distinguished from his existence in the natural order), then the multitude of ways in which we are not free are irrelevant to the single way in which we are: the way by which God's word is revealed to us as salvation. Therefore, only where our hope and His love are joined is freedom credible and comprehensible to us, and our destiny fulfilled.

The Garden of Eden story dramatizes the relation of freedom to sin. Faithfulness to God as the creator and Lord of man's greatness is most susceptible to the infection of self-righteousness at the intoxicating peak of his greatness. No matter how universally and zealously sought that wealth, fame, power, and other worldly goods may be, it is only the very foolish who have little inkling that these fail to satisfy man's ultimate desires. It is in the reaching after beauty, goodness, wisdom, and truth, that a purer evil subtly enters.

Man's original greatness was his perfect trust in God's greatness, and his perfect innocence in so trusting. Adam's sin was not simply that he desired to partake of the forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge. More especially, it was the pride of his conviction that by eating the fruit he would thereby eliminate the gulf which existed between his knowledge and the knowledge of God. It was to betray his innocence ("And he said, 'I heard Thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself.' " "And He said, 'Who told thee that thou wast naked?' " (Genesis 3:10, 11)—an innocence which has as its foundation the trust that the gulf be-

tween him and God could never be eliminated by him, that "there is no God like Thee, in heaven above, or on earth beneath, who keepest covenant and mercy with Thy servants."

Adam's nakedness was the dread awareness of his dependence upon God—an awareness which could only have developed out of the attempt to challenge that dependence. His discovery that he was "naked" (i.e. dependent upon God) was preceded by the sin which called that dependence into question. His dread, therefore, was not simply that he was naked, for he had been created so; but for his having discovered it by sin. It was the false hope to identify divine greatness with human greatness that was the origin of evil. And it was man's unquenchable hope that divine mercy will overcome his evil that became a sign of the greatness remaining to him.

It is a quality of man's original greatness to know that knowledge is a perfect good. If he did not first know this, how could he be successfully tempted into thinking that his knowledge is equally perfect? Man who believes that there need be no significant, qualitative, difference between his truth and God's truth, his virtue and God's, has already sinned.

We cannot know the will and the law of God perfectly, any more than we can obey them precisely. Yet it is not the disparity between the knowledge we have of God and the power we have to obey Him that is the origin of evil; but the lie and the vanity which would equate our knowledge with the knowledge—which is the love—of God; and our power with the power—which is the holiness—of God. A lying vanity is the reservoir from which flows the tragic "law in

our members warring against the law in our minds." The choice lies before us of better or worse. Is the better God's choice? No, the better is our choice which He will not despise.

If it is clear that there is evil in the world, it must be equally clear that we cannot know exactly how much we ourselves cause. Even the most penitent rarely think that they cause very much. If we confess that it is impossible to know how much there is of the world's evil for which we must rightly share in the guilt, then we must forfeit any objective basis for claims of sanctification. We compound our guilt if we are moved to repent only for the exact evils of which we are aware of ourselves as the cause. We employ our ignorance of evils unknown (an ignorance for which we ourselves may be responsible) as part of a strategic claim upon divine mercy. But divine mercy has no claims upon it or it would not be divine. Partial repentance, having its actual trust in one's "real" (though confessedly partial) goodness is hypocrisy's shrewdest way of attempting to bribe the unconditional. The real situation is that the saintliest man makes his own unique contribution to the vilest evil.

Nor does any subjective basis exist for claims of sanctification. The fact that there are no vantage points to which self-love does not penetrate is proved at the height of man's inner self: in prayer and contemplation. We are never totally oblivious to the height attained. And if we humbly reprove ourselves for the pride in our awareness, awareness of our new humility cannot be distinguished from new pride. This is necessarily true because humility must be accompanied by awareness or it could not in any way be the result of our decision. We can-

not be humble without having some awareness of it. We cannot be aware that we are humble without having some pride about it.

Faith breaks through all pretentious claims of sanctification by its primary assumption that man on any level of thought, prayer, or action, is sinful and in need of divine rescue. It is in regions of our spirit which are beyond our thoughts and prayers that the "principle of self-transcendence," the image of God, abides. Spirit has a dimension on any level of reality which is beyond its own awareness. Whatever is apprehensible to man's awareness is corruptible by it. But man cannot corrupt God's image in him because it is in the nature of that image to be apprehended only "according as we hope" in God. And it is in the nature of true hope that only God can see the brightness of the flame underneath the life in whom it burns: "For we are saved by hope; for what a man seeth why does he yet hope for." (Rom. 8:24.)

The hopes which life creates out of its own powers are themselves suspect and in need of another hope which cannot be found within life. Faith assumes that the whole of life is in need of rescue: the hopes with the despairs, the ridiculous with the tragic, the joyful with the sufferers.

Religion may be used as an artificial substitute for that which life has failed to provide. But it may also provide that for which life has no substitutes. It may be used either to escape reality, or to probe and illumine it; either to divide the immediate from the ultimate, or to unite them; either to claim that powers of forgiveness and love, or to hope in God that these powers will overcome our false claims.

next
go.
ization of property is no panacea for all of society's ills, and however necessary it may be to guard against the compounding of economic and political power in a planned society, we nevertheless continued to hold the common conviction that the socialization of natural resources and of monopolistic economic power is a *sine qua non* of justice in a technical society.

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Fellowship in New York again because of transportation difficulties. In order to encourage the attendance of out of town members it was decided to have

a voluntary scheme of equalizing traveling expenses, which would not cost any one who participates more than \$5 and which would contribute a sum not to exceed \$10 to the travel of the members who come from a distance.

A new executive committee consisting of the following was elected: Norman Sibley, Herbert King, Winnifred Wygal, Eduard Heimann, Ralph Read, Paul Streich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Peter Apelian, John Cartmell, Charles Kean, Richard Day (in service) and John I. Daniel (in service).

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Fitch is Professor of Philosophy at Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal.

Clifford Stanley is Rector of St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, Mo.

R. A. Landor has recently been discharged from the army because of defective eyesight. He is a frequent contributor to our pages. His present contribution is significant particularly as representing very mature religious insights of a young Christian layman.

Leonard M. Schiff is a priest in the Church of England, who has just returned from six years in India. He spent four years in a Missionary Brotherhood and two years as chaplain of Calcutta Cathedral. He was in close touch with Congress leaders during his stay in India. He is author of "The Present Condition of India." Mr. Schiff is an

old friend of our Fellowship and has been for years a leader in Christian Socialist work in England.

W. Burnet Easton is chaplain and professor of religion at Massachusetts State College, Amherst, Mass.

Eduard Heimann is professor of Economics in the Graduate Faculty of New School of Social Research.

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We are pleased to announce that Rev. H. P. Reynolds, West Goulburn Rectory, 142 Coromandel St., Goulburn, N.S.W., Australia, has been good enough to assume responsibility as our agent in Australia, and has already secured more than thirty subscriptions in that country. We are deeply grateful to him for the work that he is doing.

FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE

Probably the most successful conference in the history of the Fellowship was held at Riverside, New York, December 29 and 30. The sessions were attended by an average of 70 people, many of them from out of town. There were five general sessions. In the first Professor John Bennett led the discussion on the function of the church in the world crisis. Professor Bennet gave a very comprehensive survey of the resistance to tyranny by the various churches of the world and of the development of the ecumenical movement. In the second session Prof. George Edwards of City College New York analyzed the dangers of economic reaction in post-war America and there was a lively discussion of the perils which America faces. The third session was devoted to a consideration of the new statement of faith of the Fellowship, which Prof. Mollegan had prepared. The main outlines of this statement, previously published in this journal were accepted. Naturally various charges in the text were suggested and a committee consisting of the members in Alexandria, Va., was appointed to work on the revision to be submitted to the conference in May.

The fourth session was led by R. Niebuhr who reviewed the spiritual history of the Fellowship in the past 14 years in its relation to world history. He sought to analyze the Marxist, liberal and Christian elements which entered into the creed of the Fellowship during its history and sought to define the tasks of radical Christians in our day, in the light of this history. The final session was devoted to a consideration of the Role of Catholicism in the Post-War world

and was led by Professor Tillich. This discussion revealed the tragic conflict of which we are conscious in having on the one hand a common Christian cause with Catholicism, while on the other hand we are forced to oppose Catholic politics at practically every juncture. Dr. Tillich defined the political conservatism of the Roman church as being due primarily to the fact that it is under the necessity of preserving the historical institution of the universal church by political as well as by spiritual means. This means that in the present instance it must seek to quell the revolutionary movements, particularly upon the continent, which are anti-clerical in their orientation but which have nevertheless much of the hope of a renaissance of Europe in them.

It was reported to the conference that our Journal "Christianity and Society" has had the best years of its history. The hope was expressed that with the adoption of the new and broader statement of our faith, the Fellowship would face much larger opportunities of usefulness in acting as a leaven within the church and bringing the church to a more acute awareness of the great social and political problems of our day.

There was considerable discussion on whether our many criticisms of orthodox Marxism had not made it misleading to call ourselves "socialist." The opinion was expressed that the renewal of society would certainly not take place under the aegis of any orthodox Marxism. On the other hand most of the members of the Fellowship felt, that however we might qualify the doctrine of the social ownership of the means of production and however much we might insist that social-

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA, by William Henry Chamberlin. New York, Scribner's, 1943. pp. 310. \$2.75.

A conscientious and informative book about the most important foreign country today is highly welcome. That it is conscientious and informative is something that must be ascertained by appropriate tests, in view of the almost inevitable bias pro or con with which everyone approaches this controversial topic. To this reviewer Chamberlin's book seems to meet the tests which may be applied. That the author approaches Russia from the sceptical side is better than if he had been uncritical in his admiration since it is the critics who will now have to come to terms with Soviet Russia. But the main question is whether the author overcomes the critical—although always remarkably fair—attitude of his past where this is demanded of him by the facts. The answer is that he is restrained but not at all grudging in his praise; and frank but restrained in his criticism. It is not the book that you would expect of a journalist; despite many well chosen anecdotes it is surprisingly lacking in color, which should be recorded as a virtue in this particular instance. Sometimes the author's restraint goes too far both ways. He has one short paragraph about one of Russia's most glorious achievements, the nationality policy; what he says is appreciative, to be sure, but it hardly does justice to the significance for world history of that policy. But he is equally restrained, and inclined to understate-ment, in regard to what is the most important of the negative aspects of the Soviet regime; the deportations and forced labor camps. We have reason to

believe that the number of those in such camps, after twenty years of dictatorship, was still from ten to twenty millions, that is between 5 and 10 percent of the total population, as against 1 percent in Nazi Germany according to the estimate by Seger and Marck. This is a monstrous fact, and it sheds a sinister light on the entire system which requires such measures for its maintenance. A detailed chapter on the purges and trials is a model of sobriety. Virtually no evidence but the spectacular confessions was presented at the trials, the author says; and the fact that so many others, including the two most famous generals of that time were secretly disposed of, does not add to the sense of confidence as one examines the amazing record. But all this, according to our author, does not preclude that the accused and condemned men might have been more or less guilty in fact. No one can measure how far rancor and fanaticism may have carried such a brilliant figure as Trotsky, in view of the fact that a political change in a dictatorship can be achieved only by conspiracy. In the controversy about the disastrous British-Russian negotiations in the summer 1939 preceding the Nazi-Soviet pact the author takes the position that it was indecision and half-heartedness rather than viciousness which misguided Britain, but finds Stalin's about-face justified as a whole. These examples will suffice to convince the reader that this book is a reliable guide.

The book traces the Soviet history against the background of a survey of land and people, or rather peoples; of preceding Russian history with its abrupt shifts from long continued apathy to violent outbursts of self-sacrificing pas-

sion; of the sudden and wonderful awakening of Russia to supreme manifestations of literary art and poetry in the nineteenth century. The main topic of the book is the gradual turn from revolution to a new conservatism, not by wiping out the results of the revolution but by consolidating them, through changes in the climate of life and the standards of behavior and selection, as revealed in the emergence of a new middle class with all its attributes including a nationalist understanding of history and literature. The new constitution and the tremendous economic growth are discussed in this perspective, and rightly so. But it cannot be denied that these two chapters are decidedly weak when consulted on the structural characteristics of the Soviet system and their political and economic significance in world history.

How the two mutually opposed elements of centralized planning, on the one hand, and money and pricing, on the other, are reconciled and combined; how the plan is drawn up; how it was geared to the most rapid possible development of armament; how a huge industry was built up with the profit motive eliminated from economic strategy and confined to a subordinate function; for all these and similar questions one has to turn to other books, of which, fortunately, there is no dearth. (The system as such is best described by the Frenchman Robert Mosse, the history of its achievements, vicissitudes, and problems by Hubbard, Arnold, and Yugow.)

Eduard Heimann.

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FROM VICTORY TO PEACE, by Paul Hutchinson, the managing editor Co. \$1.50.

Paul Hutchinson, the managing editor of *The Christian Century*, has always had an interesting attitude toward political

problems. He is a born realist who smells out the rationalizations and dishonesties, the pretensions and false claims of politics with unerring instinct. On the other hand he has always followed the general moralism of Christian liberalism. He believes that it is the primary duty of the Christian church to hold up the absolute ideal. "It is not," he declares, "concerned to define the politically expedient. . . . It is concerned only to set forth in the light of its comprehension of the moral law, the nature of the world community in which because justice reigns, peace endures. If man, with his institutions, refuses to make the adjustments required by the prophetic ideal, then man must suffer the consequences. The responsibility of the church has been discharged."

This is the old fallacy of the church of the redeemed who do not know themselves to be involved in the sin of the world. It proclaims the absolute moral law; discovers that men do not obey it and then washes its hands of the consequences. It has, however, forgotten that the nation's defiance of the moral law is partly derived from the defiance of the Christians themselves who do indeed delight in the law of God after the inward man but who also have a law in their members which wars against the law that is in their mind.

It is because there are no redeemed in the world in the absolute moral sense that we must build human communities not merely by eliminating and suppressing self-interest, individual and collective, but also by harnessing and beguiling it. How can any realist believe that a world community can be organized without exploiting the concurrence between self-interest and our sense of obligation for the total community?

To be realistic in diagnosis but never

in cure, leads to all sorts of aberrations. Thus Mr. Hutchinson believes that world peace must be achieved by disarmament and not by preponderance of power. All possibilities of imperial corruption which he enumerates are of course implicit in the organization of the world through preponderance of power. But on the other hand the possibilities of anarchy are implicit in Mr. Hutchinson's schemes. He declares that "from the moment of their (the fascist nations') disarmament their capacity to disrupt and destroy the efforts of the other nations to build a peaceful community of nations will disappear." This is an old fallacy. We first disarm the criminal and then disarm society on the ground that it no longer faces any perils. But at this point the idealist makes the same mistake as the vindictive victor. He imagines that the power to disrupt the community lies only with this particular nation. The possibilities of anarchy in a human community are endless. The defeated foe might arm again; or some other member of the world community might decide to test his strength against a disarmed community. Mr. Hutchinson thinks the world community might have a little police power in the form of an international air force for such an emergency.

In another connection his own realism qualifies this confidence and he envisages the possibility of a defeated and disarmed Germany sowing discord among the victors and declares "this is the sort of intrigue that a disarmed nation will seek to carry on among the armed neighbors." He thinks that a like possibility would not exist if all nations were disarmed and stood under the authority of a real federation of the nations. Unfortunately there is no suggestion in the book on how, in terms of practical political decisions the world community of

nations, which he envisages as the only solution of our problem, can be organized and just how we are to secure the submission of nations to its authority. On this point he is vague and merely declares that the church must proclaim "that a just and lasting peace requires that a higher loyalty shall transcend our parochial national loyalties, that a true community of nations shall be established, that in the life and duties of that community all men and all races shall share." But there is no suggestion in the book on how this is to be brought about.

Mr. Hutchinson makes much of the fact that the great powers who must form the nucleus of authority for a budding world community have rival power interests, and he therefore expects them to dissolve their partnership before very long. This is indeed an ever present peril. The other peril is that they will hold together but not grant the smaller nations real justice. These perils are so great that mankind may fail once more in establishing a tolerably just and peaceful community of nations. But men who see these perils ought to tell us just how they would overcome these power impulses and rivalries in building their ideal community of nations. Just how will they suppress or beguile these forces in order to arrive at a constitutional convention of the world where the ideal state is to be formed? And how will they secure the submission of these nations to the new world constitution? And will they be able to guarantee to the statesmen that the church which makes these absolute demands has a membership free of the sins of national pride and therefore able to give unequivocal support to such an arrangement.

At the present moment our national community is threatened with the peril

of inflation because various economic groups within the national community are intent upon their own advantage rather than the advantage of the whole community. It is undoubtedly a duty of the religious and moral institution to point to the immorality of these partial claims and to the danger of social anarchy which derives from them. But the practical statesman is forced to all kinds of contrivances to check, deflect, harness and balance these conflicting claims in order to preserve a tolerable harmony in the community. Before the church turns up its nose as these sorry, ambiguous and sometimes futile efforts of the practical statesmen, let it examine itself and ask whether the Christians for which it speaks are not involved, directly or indirectly, in the claims and counter-claims which make for anarchy in the national community.

The international community is in an analogous situation with the distinction that it does not even have an established procedure for suppressing the anarchy of conflicting claims but is fighting desperately to secure a foothold of order from which to proceed against anarchy. This is a precarious business, whether attempted in "realistic" terms or in "idealistic" ones. If the church thinks it is its business merely to present the final ideals, free of all expediency and moral ambiguity, let it produce a church membership which will support these demands upon the statesmen. It may be able to work toward this goal by preaching repentance to its members and showing them the way of God more perfectly. But in the ultimate instance it must confess that it is deeply and intimately involved in the sins of the world against which its protests. Fairly to understand this completely makes Pharisaic nonsense of this "absolute" demands of the

church, which it bids the world accept or perish. On the level of morality it may be the primary business of the church to make these absolute demands; but on the level of the religious it is also its business to understand what it is in the human situation which forces expediency upon the statesman.

R. N.

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COMMON CAUSE, by G. A. Borgese.

Dual, Sloan & Pearce, New York.
pp. 438. \$3.50.

"This book was written," writes Prof. Borgese, "between the morrow of Tobruk's fall to the Axis and the eve of the capture of Tunis." This was also the period of the turning of the Germans at Stalingrad and the greater conquest of the U-boat. It seems now the period of the turning point of the war. Thus this book was written in the midst of highly fluctuating contemporary events which have not ceased fluctuating. The Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences came after the book was finished. Nevertheless, Prof. Borgese has a remarkable degree of perspective on the deeper meaning of the contemporary situation and produces some of the most accurate analyses published so far.

The burden of Prof. Borgese's book is, as the title suggests, the Common Cause, or the Common Cause of the Common Man in his struggle to achieve freedom and justice; particularly the fortunes of the Common Cause in the present conflict. But, of course, as is necessary for any such analysis, he goes back into the background with an acumen which is always stimulating, always interesting—indeed fascinating.

England may have given birth to the Common Cause, but England has forfeited her right to be its champion. She

still can cooperate, indeed her cooperation is essential, but in spite of the fact that Churchill "did not become Prime Minister to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire," that empire is done. It is done partly because her dominions now know that it is America and not England that protects them; partly because when Hitler invaded Russia (and Russia did not collapse) Hitler gave the chance to the Slavs (rather than the Anglo-Saxons) to be the savior; but primarily because England became too insular and never thought, and still does not think, of the Common Cause in sufficiently universal terms. England never understood Fascism and felt no responsibility for stopping it. As late as January 5, 1942, Eden stated, "Hitler could have remained Nazi if he had stayed a Nazi at home" to which Borgese adds, "Could he really?" Except that Churchill saw the German menace to Britain's security more clearly—and of course is a magnificent fighter—he and Chamberlain had the same principles "the principles were insularity and unconcern." (p. 154.) Borgese quotes extensively to prove his point from Churchill's speeches and writing, showing Churchill's early approval of Fascism, especially of Il Duce, and makes quite a point of Churchill's tendency to speak of "Hitlerism" instead of "Nazism" indicating he thinks in terms of a person rather than an idea. The freedom Churchill wants is the freedom of British aristocracy, not that of the Common Cause.

For one who has been in this country only a dozen years, Borgese's understanding of America and Americans seems amazing. Perhaps this is because he comes as an adopted son. America can and ought to be the leader of the Common Cause. This is Roosevelt's historic, indeed divine "call"; but whether

he or America will accept the call is another question. America is an extension of the British Anglo-Saxon world. Prof. Borgese has some very illuminating things to say on how England has influenced America, particularly in times of crises. He is also illuminating on the influences of Churchill on Roosevelt. His discussion of how the Atlantic Charter and Casablanca statements watered down Roosevelt's earlier statement on the Four Freedoms is both thought provoking and discouraging. Equally discouraging was the whole North African appeasement policy which tried to make North Africa and Europe safe, not for the Common Man, but for big business and the Roman Church. And as Borgese points out, this was not just the work of the state department—it had the approval of the White House. Myron Taylor represented not the state department but Roosevelt—and big business. Archbishop Spellman, whom Borgese likens to a Quisling on our side, flew with the blessing of Roosevelt who approved of his itinerary, including Spain. The effect of this "negotiated war" was to seriously hurt the prestige of the democratic liberators in the eyes of those who awaited liberation inside Festung Europa. America has not yet lost her chance for leadership, but it has been damaged; and racialism inside this country does not help.

Borgese's analysis of Russia is not novel but is well done. Russia is not perfect and the suppression of "the individual liberties is more than a mote in the Soviets' eye; it is quite a beam" (page 69). Of late years it has also turned away from universalism to a nationalism which Borgese finds disturbing but which makes it more acceptable to the West. Nevertheless, Russia has done more for the Common Cause than any other nation of late years. Its resistance to attack has

proven beyond doubt that vitality is not limited to the democracies, countries of so-called "free enterprise." Today, because of the bungling demofascism (Borgese's word for the combination of conservatism, big business and clericalism) of the democracies, it is looked to more hopefully by the disenfranchised than any other nation. There can be no peace without a real understanding and a real cooperation between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon allies.

In his analysis of the obstacles of the Common Cause (always the best parts of his book), Borgese has some of his most incisive and critical pages when dealing with the Roman Church. *Rerum Novarum*, the *Syllabus of Errors*, and various encyclicals and pronouncements of the Popes since 1870 were mostly vague terms to me before reading this book. Borgese fits them together in a most illuminating way. The picture that arises is one of an infinitely sagacious and infinitely ruthless Old Guard "that never learns and never forgets." Since Leo XIII and *Rerum Novarum* it has been in the process of organizing a second Counter-reformation designed to reestablish it politically and as far as possible spiritually, "for Protestantism in general, viewed from the Roman angle . . . was not a revolution; it was an insurrection" (p. 265). Partly because "Protestant America" is the richest Roman province and partly because of the American Irish loyalty to Rome, coupled with their political control of the Democratic party in the North, subtility is necessary. The situation of separation of State and Church as in America, ranks fifth in the Roman order of preferences, but because of Roosevelt's dependence on the Irish city vote, and because of the unsuspecting naivete of American Protestants, and because of the conservatism of "Protestant

big business," the Vatican has great hopes for success in this country. If this should succeed, the Common Cause would be immeasurably set back.

I would like to give more space to this section (Borgese devotes over one hundred pages to it), but this must be enough. Borgese recognizes that, in spite of her political machinations, "What the Roman Church dispenses to her people is, or so she thinks, the bread of the angels; not opiate, but the elixir of inextinguishable life" (p. 295). He also sees some hope in the liberal Roman Catholic movement. This movement however is small and stopped "helpless at . . . the dogma of infallibility" (p. 335). Without explaining just how short of another revolution in Rome, Borgese holds out the hope that the liberal Catholics may, not too distantly, gain the ascendancy. "If this so happens . . . they will not be surprised when they find out at the turning point that they are Protestants" (p. 339). In like manner Protestantism which shows signs of overcoming its sterile secularism "is being restored to its proper and essential function . . . the reformation and renovation of Catholicity" (p. 340). It should be clear, however, that these are only minor possibilities.

Borgese in his analysis of the difficulties and obstacles before the Common Cause is realistic and acute. It is surprising therefore, to find him somewhat starry-eyed when he comes to the future. The Common Cause will win—apparently because it simply must—the alternatives are too horrible. Borgese's chief other supports for this are three. (1) In Europe, at least, it is too late to halt the Common Cause; neither the Vatican, nor Anglo-Saxon Demofascism, nor both, can stop the process already begun. Were they to stop it they should have

started ten or fifteen years ago. (2) The war has again turned into a war of infantry, i.e., of the Common Man and Common Man will not fight and die for less than the Common Cause. After the war he will insist that his sacrifices were not in vain. (3) In the end Borgese turns to stark Messianism. He concludes his book with this quotation: "Somewhere in this universal darkness, that is upon us, there dwells a man who God will arouse to point the way out from spiritual and moral desolation to the green pastures of peace and hope."

In spite of what seems to me the undue optimism of Professor Borgese's prophecies concerning the future, he has written the most stimulating and thought-provoking book on the present situation that I have seen.

W. Burnet Easton.

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GERMANY: TO BE OR NOT TO BE? By Gerhart H. Seger and Siegfried K. Marck. New York, Rand Rand School Press, 1943. 190 pp. \$2.00.

This book, uneven and not very well organized, is still worth reading, because of the obvious integrity and moderation with which the authors present their case, the case for Germany, to be. They do not choose the easy path of assuring us that, once the allied armies will have done away with the bad reactionaries, the true democratic Germany will emerge. They relate Nazism to an essential element in German intellectual history, the romantic urge of the powerful individual to unlimited fulfillment; they find this exemplified in Faust (although Faust overcomes it and seeks satisfaction in the concrete limited task of the day). German romantic music, which dissolves any form in favor of individual self-expression, is another example. The authors combine

this element with the Lutheran polarity of unbounded religious autonomy and unqualified external submission to the state; the more anarchy there is in the spiritual sphere, the stronger must the authority be in order that society be kept going.

The authors believe, however, that the lofty and dangerous tradition of romanticism has been depoisoned, as it were, by its vulgar and degenerate form divorcing itself from the rest and running amuck in Nazism. One may doubt whether this is a guarantee, in this anti-romantic age, against a repetition of such romantic degeneration in the future. It is difficult to see how the authors derive from these sketchy observations on intellectual history the events in political history. In this sphere they seem to put the essential blame on the weakness of German democracy, which succumbed to an alliance of the military with gangsterism. A special cause in a limited field was, according to them, the fraudulent opposition of the French military to an honest German disarmament, because it would have made French Militarism superfluous. But more fundamental than this was the provision of the Versailles treaty which gave Germany a professional army of 100,000 men who had to enlist for twelve years in order to prevent the training of many men in this cadre; since democratic-minded men will not voluntarily give up twelve years of civilian life, this army became a monopoly of anti-democratic forces.

From this incomplete, although suggestive, analysis, however, the authors draw conclusions which are worth considering. They recommend that the much discussed prolonged armistice be used for German reeducation and reconstruction, so as to put Germany on her feet materially and morally. They have

a number of practical suggestions for exchange of students and professors, preparation of an adult education program over the radio, etc., in addition to their discussion of the military occupation and its methods. Their unassailable program is not to exculpate Germany but to redeem her, within a comprehensive solution of the European problem. The one point which they do not adequately discuss, in this reviewer's opinion, is the future political form of Germany; they take it for granted that a unified Germany, approximately in the pre-war boundaries, is the natural outcome of history, which one cannot touch without kindling the flames of nationalism anew; they disregard the wide differences between Germany's tribes and regions and their potential political significance. Their guiding rule is that temporary disqualifications, after a national disaster, can be borne by a people, but not punishment and humiliation continued for ever without hope of emerging into a decent and respectable life. This seems to be a very sound principle.

Eduard Heimann.

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TOTAL PEACE, by Ely Culbertson,
Doubleday Doran Co. \$2.50.

Many of our readers will have seen early versions of Culbertson's plan for world order. It is now out in book form. Culbertson is credited with having taken

the game out of bridge by overcoming the caprice of the card game. He did this by a mathematical calculation of probabilities. In a sense he applies the same method to world politics, seeking to reduce the chaos of the world to order by an exact calculation of the military forces which would be required to create a preponderance of power against any recalcitrant force in the world community. The plan is an ingenious combination of imperial and balance of power politics. Mr. Culbertson has little appreciation of the complex dynamics of world politics and too simple a faith in the possibility of bringing order out of chaos by a nice balance of military quotas. Among other factors which he neglects are the industrial potentials which lie behind military power and make it impossible to assign such nice quotas to the various powers.

But for all the weaknesses in this plan there are some shrewd insights in Culbertson's analyses. He understands much better than most world planners that there is no simple way of achieving a unified world control. If his plan were not quite so pat in its calculations, it could actually contribute some wisdom to the present situation; for it does make clear that the order of the next decades at least must be achieved by harnessing and restraining the power of the world empires.

R. N.



